

Hermes

By the students, faculty, and alumnae/i
of Wesleyan University

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North End Notes

by Bradley Kessler

In September, during hurricane Gloria, the neon sign for the March In restaurant blew down and smashed on the pavement along Main Street. It fell in front of the Arriwani Hotel, at 605 Main Street, where the March In has been for the past 22 years. After a few days, the sign was finally swept up and thrown away. It was not replaced and never will be, because the restaurant has shut down. And for many of the low-income tenants who live in the Arriwani Hotel, the knocked-down sign may portend the closing of their building under the pressures of redevelopment.

From any point on Main Street in Middletown, you can see the Arrigoni building hovering in the North end. It is the yellow building on the corner of

The Buying of the Arriwani

Liberty and Main, the one with the silver dome, the dentils and swaggery, and the empty bottles of thunderbird lying on the steps. Welfare and workfare recipients live in the building, as do out-patients from the Connecticut Valley Hospital, transients, the elderly, and the homeless. For many, the Arrigoni building has come to represent all that the North end implies—poverty, vagrancy, alcoholism, homelessness—and its pre-eminence in the Main Street skyline is viewed with some regret.

The Arriwani Hotel was built in 1914 by Frank Arrigoni, a local building contractor. It was a posh place then, with four story bays on the south and east

walls and a retinue of maids and clerks.

After the highways were built, and Main Street was cut off from the flow of interstate traffic, the number of overnight guests dwindled at the hotel, and the pace on Main Street slackened. In 1963, the Marchinkoskis of Cromwell bought the hotel and have managed it for 22 years. On October 1 of this year, the hotel was sold to John Cotter, a redeveloper with the Connecticut Building Corporation. Cotter has been changing the face of the North end for the past few years. He has polished up the red brick, replaced old windows, and painted walls.

Cotter is taking advantage of the federal tax breaks offered by the

Reagan Administration for the redevelopment of old buildings. He has bought the O'Rourke's diner, the building which houses Main Street Food and Drink, the Old Meeting House building, the Good Harvest Coop building, the apartments above the Brass Rail bar, the apartments in 634 Main Street, and now he owns the Arriwani Hotel. Many of these buildings have been renovated, and new businesses and apartments have opened. Cotter, who lives in Hartford and owns three Jaguars, wants to make Main Street an "entirely commercial area." He wants to see young people move into the North end; young people with money who can afford his apartments.

Now that Cotter owns the Arriwani Hotel, tensions have arisen between the tenants and the management. The tenants fear they may be kicked out of the hotel, and with Cotter's record of gentrification, their fears are not unfounded. It is very likely that, sooner or later, perhaps in the Spring, Cotter will begin renovating the hotel. "Some of the people there have had nothing their entire lives" says Terry Carbone of The Arriwani tenants "and now they're afraid their very home will be taken away from them." Carbone is an advocate for the St. Vincent De Paul Soup Kitchen on Main Street, and help runs the crisis center above the kitchen.

When the Marchinkoskis owned the Arriwani, they ran the place like a hotel. They provided sheets and towels, cleaned the rooms. Mrs. Marchinkoski cleaned the clothes of some of the tenants who could not do it themselves. She kept people's money and social security checks so that they wouldn't spend it all before the end of the month. There was a sense of community, she says; "People shared their things and

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Third Party Politics

New Haven Green Party Mayoral Candidate Richard Wolff

By Beka Schreiber

Richard Wolff, the New Haven Green Party candidate for mayor has a long history of political activism in New Haven. He came to New Haven in 1964 as a graduate student in economics at Yale University. In 1965 he became involved with the Yale/New Haven committee against the war in Vietnam, which from 1965-1969 was the only anti-Vietnam war organization in New Haven. In the early 1970's, Wolff participated against the Urban Renewal program in New Haven, which displaced the most heavily populated area of New Haven, by connecting highway I-95 to I-91. In the late 1970's Wolff became an economic advisor to the Greater New Haven Central Labor Council. Through his involvement with the Labor Council, he became the economic advisor to Local 34, a group of clerical and technical worker's from Yale who went on strike last fall. Mr. Wolff is currently a full professor in Economics at the University of Massachusetts.

Interview

Hermes: Why does New Haven need a Green Party?

Wolff: In the early 1970's, it became clear to me that there is no solution to the economic crisis in New Haven. As of the 1980 census, New Haven is the seventh poorest city in the United States. Forty-five percent of the population is either black or of hispanic origin. Connecticut, which is one of the richest states in the union, is the only state in the union that has two out of the top ten poorest cities in it. There are 169 towns in Connecticut; New Haven has the highest property tax ratio to the value of the property in the state. It also happens to have the highest proportion of property that is not available for taxation, because it has protection under the law (Yale University). People who live in New Haven who own a car, a home, or a business are paying higher taxes than any other locality in the state. Why would any business want to locate in New Haven?

These are the fundamental facts of New Haven's condition. These facts are not being addressed or dealt with, they are being ignored. The Republican party is a zero party in New Haven, it doesn't have any power. One out of thirty alderpersons is a Republican. We have not had a Republican mayor since 1953. The Democratic Party will not touch the Yale issue, for fear of what would happen to their careers. If there was a referendum in New Haven about Yale paying taxes, it would win by 90 percent. Here we have a serious crisis which the majority of the population understands quite well.

This creates an opportunity for the Green Party. ...We are not afraid, we are going to stand up and we are going to say it like it is. ...This is how a group of radicals can touch base with the majority of the population, and in fact turn the tables and isolate the present leadership.

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The Arriwani Hotel in 1973

Policy Statement of the New Haven Green Party

Greater Democracy in New Haven

- New Haven residents should have the right to vote in a referendum on issues such as school funding or the subsidy to the Shubert Theater.
- Abolish the Board of Finance—the unelected group that sets the tax rate. Let the elected Board of Alders set the tax rate and spending program for New Haven.
- One half of one percent (.5%) of the city budget should be used each year to inform the public of what the city government is doing, how the government works and how people can become more involved.

Environmental Wisdom

- All nuclear power facilities should be closed down. Our local electric utility monopoly, United Illuminating, has become dependent on nuclear power for its survival. The city government should take over UI as a step toward democratic control over our energy future. Workers, consumers and elected officials should share in setting policies and managing the publically owned utility.
- Publically operated, municipal vegetable gardens should be set up at schools, public housing and other city owned properties. The school lunch program should include more fresh fruits, vegetable and whole grain products while the use of foods high in fat, sugar and salt should be limited.
- The city government should take leadership in energy conservation programs that improve city housing and create new jobs: for example, housing rehabilitation, improvements in insulation and conversion from costly electric heating to gas or oil-fired heating.

Social Justice and Social Responsibility

- The city government should lead a campaign for statewide tax reform. Success would bring New Haven's schools enough money to provide the highest quality education for our children. Tax reform should also ensure that New Haven's mill rate does not remain the highest in the state.

- Work to abolish tax exemptions to wealthy corporations such as the SNETCO and Yale University and work to obtain payments for public services provided to them. Limit tax breaks to fly-by-night developers such as Schiavone and Rouse.
- The city government, working with unions, religious groups and neighborhood organizations, should promote worker/community controlled businesses to rescue local jobs.
- The current laws for fair rent, housing safety and anti-discrimination must be forcefully imposed on many of the large landholders in New Haven.
- The city should help finance new community health centers and prepaid group health plans which provide comprehensive and low-cost services including neonatal and well-baby care.
- New Haven must expand child care service to include infants and improve them by providing better salaries and working conditions for daycare staffs.

A More Peaceful World

- The Green Party recognizes New Haven's links to national and global issues. To resolve New Haven's economic and community problems we need to speak out for a fundamental shift in federal priorities—away from ever-increasing war-making adventures, and toward improving the quality of life in American cities.
- The Green Party endorses the Nuclear Freeze as a first step toward nuclear disarmament, the 'No First Strike Pledge' in the usage of nuclear weapons and treaties which abolish the proliferation and testing of nuclear weapons.

Human Rights

- All neighborhoods in New Haven should receive equal services in street cleaning, snow removal, education, recreation, and economic development.
- The city government should be prohibited from doing business with any company convicted of employment practices which discriminate on the basis of race, beliefs, sexual preference, sex, age or disability.
- The city government must help establish services such as food stores in low-income neighborhoods through tax incentives and city-guaranteed loans.

A Call For Intelligent Discussion

"Men are Rapists; Rapists must Die"
—Graffiti
"Women are sluts, Sluts must be Raped."
—Letter to the *Argus*

It is unfortunate that intellectual discourse between men women on the Wesleyan campus has been stigmatized by such inflammatory and discriminatory statements.

I personally refuse to be stereotyped either as some ignorant, brutish sexist thug by one side, or as a weak-willed, indecisive pawn of a world-wide conspiracy of womynists by the other. (Please note that both characterizations are deliberately overblown to make a point).

Such extremism on the part of either men or women can serve no constructive purpose other than the emotional satisfaction that name-calling sometimes affords.

This is not a mutually exclusive world despite attempts by some groups to create that image. It is not filled with good men and bad women, or bad men and good women. We all live here together—good and bad—and it is to our mutual advantage to learn to co-exist harmoniously. I trust such a simple concept is not beyond the comprehension or capabilities of anyone.

As an Afro-American, I remember the time clearly when it was necessary for the Black community to express itself in powerful terms that stated our desire for self-determination (Black Power). If that bothered Whites, it was okay with some of us, because we needed an emotional response to address the years of abuse and discrimination.

It is because of this experience that I can appreciate the need of some feminists (or Womynists) to express such strong negative sentiments in the name of consolidating the political power of women. I hear exactly what is expressed—not anti-men—but pro-women. I'd like to think that there are other men like me, who don't feel personally attacked whenever they hear a comment or question that challenge the present positioning of sex roles. But in the same way that Black Americans have sought more traditional methods of negotiating for a full franchise in American society, the two ends of the political spectrum on the issue of Women's Rights will have to concede extremism for a more moderate solution.

It's fun and sometimes self-strengthening to put down your opposite number in a confrontation, but the greater challenge lies in your ability to work for a positive and lasting solution to your mutual problems.

William H. Foster

Hermes wants your contributions. Articles or essays, fiction or poetry, photographs or drawings—you name it, we want it. *Hermes* is a forum for the Wesleyan and Middletown communities. So if you have something on your mind, let us know about it. Please drop off your submissions in the *Hermes* submission envelope on the second floor of the Housing Office, 190 High St.

Submit!

Editorial Collective
Marion Appel
Neil deMaue
Conough Doherty
David Freedman

Brad Kessler
Dan Kolbert
Colin Roberts
Beka Schreiber

Ben Waxman
David Weber
Jeff Welch
Andrew Wilcox

Cover photo by Shana Sureck

Editorial Misleading

Et tu, *Hermes*?

I read the final paragraph of last issue's editorial with considerable dismay. Here, on familiar territory, comfortable territory, I found a foul and inaccurate attack on myself in progress. I have several points to make in response to the editorial.

First, the editorial persisted in referring to me as "the student trustee" or "this student trustee." This is a wimpy tactic, as well as a dehumanizing one. My name is Tim Burke; if you want to criticize me, then use that name instead of some coy substitution.

Second, I found the criticism contained in the editorial highly inappropriate. The editorial took note of my column in the *Argus* published just after the last trustees' meeting and quoted it with a suspect degree of selectivity. The quote that was used began "I had hoped for

two things from this meeting..." One of them, I noted, was a timetable and structure for the proposed review of our investments policy.

The *Hermes* editorial used this as a launching pad for a mouth-frothing denunciation of working with the trustees. Is this what happens, asks the editorial, when we allow our innocent students to discuss issues with the nasty trustees? They become compromised! corrupted! All they want is silly little timetables!

First of all, I wrote in my column that I wanted two things from the last meeting: a timetable and schedule were only one part of that. The majority of my column was devoted to the other result I had wanted to see come out of the meeting. I wanted the trustees to commit to one of two things: either a review directed at making minor reforms in our current policy, or a review that accepts that we must head

in new directions, that our current assumptions are no longer valid.

Now this again may not seem like much to the unthinking trendy advocate of divestment. But as weird as it may seem to you, the trustees are people too, and they do have brains in their heads. If you want divestment, you are going to have to engage with them on some level. I agree that engagement without protest is an empty and easily compromised option; that's why I was arrested along with 129 other students. But protest without engagement is equally empty.

The option I want to offer the trustees is this: If they really believe, for moral reasons, that constructive engagement is the way to go, then let the stand up and take the heat for that viewpoint. If they now doubt that, and I think that they should, let them acknowledge that.

The option I want to refuse them is this: If they view this process of review

as a stalling tactic, if they can abandon their historic defense of constructive engagement as first and foremost a moral policy and fall back on other less lofty defenses, then they are worthy of nothing but contempt. And the major point of my *Argus* column was that this appeared to be the option they were selecting at the last meeting. I was expressing my distaste for this kind of bogus rhetoric. And here at least, the *Hermes* editorial seemed to match my own viewpoint fairly closely.

Therefore, I caution the *Hermes* to beware: choose your targets with more care. Calling me "conspiratorial" and viewing the student trustees as engaged in a collaborationist enterprise may help puff an image of "toughness" and induce a feeling of protestational machismo, but it doesn't ultimately achieve anything of value.

Tim Burke

Bob Barker Commie Agent



by I'm Angry

FBI documents recently uncovered have revealed previously unknown information about T.V. personality Bob Barker. Barker, according to FBI sources, was and continues to be an underground organizer for the Communist Party, with extensive contacts in Russia as well as the U.S.

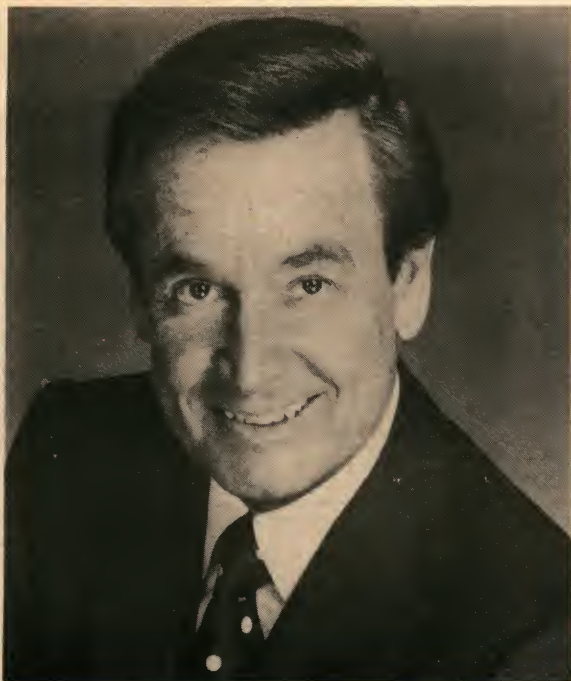
There are pictures of Barker lunching with Sacco and Vanzetti and singing folk songs with Woody Guthrie. (In fact, recent informants report that Bob watches *Reds* over and over on his VCR machine attempting to capture some of the excitement that he missed by not participating in the great Russian Revolution.) It is time for us to expose Bob and his shows for what they really are: complex, well-orchestrated plots meant to undermine the American free-enterprise system.

Barker's sinister brilliance is exemplified by such "All-American" T.V. hits as "Truth or Consequences" and "The Price Is Right". On the *Price Is Right*, for example, Barker has taken the American Dream—that is, the quest for money and power—and turned it into a farcical adventure where poor working class housewives humiliate themselves in front of millions of viewers in order to win some lousy prize, most of which gets eaten up by taxes anyway. No doubt, it took the KGB years to dream up this magnificent scheme.

In short, what Bob Barker has been doing all these years is making us Americans look like silly, materialistic fools. Imagine the glee on the face of Stalin as he watched poor Bertie Smith have to "face the consequences" after having failed to answer one of Barker's stupid, pointless questions. Or think of the laughter that rings through the Kremlin every time someone overbids for the washer/dryer set on "The Price Is Right".

What more can this new Bob Barker's Fun and Game Show have to offer? What new idiotic rituals will he put us poor Americans through? What sort of plots have his Communist commanders devised for him? Let's get this man before it's too late. If you love America like I like America, then you'll be out with your banners and your signs on Friday, when the engineer of the breakdown of American values brings his Fun and Games show to Hartford. Let's show him that not all Americans are spineless wimps that jump up and down uncontrollably at the mere mention of a trip to Hawaii. Remember that Fun and Games to a Commie means Revolution.

A final note: Our sources have indicated to us that Johnny Olsen, Bob's longtime sidekick did not die of natural causes as was reported. No, we believe that Johnny was onto "Bob's big secret", and Bob had no choice but to brutally murder that dear lovely "Voice of America". That's hat Communism will do to you. ●



NRG: Down But Not Out

by Dan White

"Nuclear disarmament is no longer a vogue issue on campus," said Greg White, a member of the Wesleyan Nuclear Resistance Group. "But it's an issue that may be with us for a long time." In the past the NRG has suffered from declining interest and falling membership. This year, the group received only a fraction of its desired funding. "It would have been nice to get the money," said White, "but I think we can get a lot of things going with a little ingenuity."

Once again the group is planning civil disobedience action. "In the past," said junior Ron Schmidt, "we've had a trip to Groton where they make a new and more accurate missile for the Trident II subs, accurate enough to destroy a silo." There, the group would attempt to block access to the plant. "Last year," White said, "we would go to Groton with other groups, lie in front of the gate, the people would go by, and nothing was done."

This year, the group is trying a new approach to sit-ins and blockades. "We're thinking of working with professionals of civil disobedience who are frequent protesters. These people could tell us the legal background—what can happen if we get arrested. I think that's critical information for this kind of group."

NRG would like to have a rally on campus but White feels that there is "little focus for a rally here." To create the necessary student awareness, NRG may work with Infact, a statewide anti-nuclear group. Campus awareness activities will include anti-nuclear films like "Dr. Strangelove" and "Failsafe". Discussion groups will also be used to a larger extent. "We're going to bring in some local people to talk to the students."

The NRG is preparing a voluntary test of the student body's nuclear awareness. "It's important," said Schmidt, "to understand nuclear policy, to vote responsibly for a candidate. Students should know that the arms race doesn't increase security."

Schmidt explained that students "have very good reasons to protest." After his discussion with environmental scientists, Schmidt became concerned with the "nuclear winter" theory. "The destruction would go far beyond the area of impact and fallout. The bottom line is that the issue of nuclear war may be an issue of life and death, not just for two countries but for the entire northern hemisphere."

According to Schmidt, the subject of nuclear war is rarely brought up in American homes because "no one likes thinking about dying. It's 'unhealthy and morbid' to think of the destruction of the northern hemisphere. But the NRG is not a 'worry group.' We're trying to make our world a safer place."

Said Schmidt, "It is a big world; a lot of things are going on, all of them important. Nuclear disarmament is a difficult issue for a lot of people because it's harder to see changes being made. In other political groups, it's easier to look for small bills and accomplishments." The Euromissile controversy of 1982 focused attention on the issue, and brought in many people. "That year we had a lot of active members protesting the shipping of American missiles to European countries. But as soon as the missiles were sent over, our membership sharply declined. It can be very frustrating at times, but there are definitely rewards as well."

"We still need people," said White. "We're a consensus-run organization. We aren't coordinators or leaders; right now, a few people are running it because we were here last year. We hope this will change very soon."



Paula Datté/Casa El Salvador/LNS

Central America Awareness Week

The Wesleyan Central America Network is organizing a week of events dealing with past, present and future aspects of U.S. involvement in Central America. Events already planned for November 11-15 are:

Monday, Nov. 11

Slide show and talk on Nicaraguan revolution by Steve Thornton. 8 p.m. in 58 Science Center. (Will also have information on work brigades.)

Tuesday, Nov. 12

Community Teach-In on U.S. involvement in the region.

Other events will include videos and a talk on the summer of '85 kidnapping by contras of a Witness for Peace boat in Nicaragua, a testimony by a Salvadoran refugee, a talk on the role of the church in Latin American liberation struggles and the U.S. Sanctuary movement, and a film.

If anyone has ideas, wants to help, or wants more information, please call Mary at 347-4360 or Karen at 347-9710.

South Africa: A Citizen's Perspective

by Eric Jones

In the past three weeks I have realized that I have truly become "the coward" that working for the government of South Africa makes one. Although I form part of the community which causes ill-feelings among a group of students and administrators at Wesleyan, I have quietly observed and listened as if it did not really concern me. That is exactly what the authorities in South Africa expect teachers in their employ to do unless they want to lose their jobs or be imprisoned.

So I am writing not because I am angry, ungrateful or disrespectful to those citizens of Middletown who have economic, political, academic and family ties with my country. In the four months that I have been here, I have begun to understand the world of protecting one's financial assets and the futility of fighting for a cause or some political situation which is so remotely removed from one's own culture and reality. The least I can say is that it is not easy for anyone to really understand the humiliation, pain, frustration and fear that any ordinary South African has had to live with for the past decade, even if you have been a tourist for three months or a resident for two years. Such a period is by far not long enough to really comprehend the complexity of the situation, of the day to day existence of Blacks, Indians, and the group of mixed racial origin (so-called Coloreds, of which my family and I are representatives).

None of the three mentioned racial groups are united, either with each other or among themselves, a factor which the authorities have effectively exploited to their advantage. That is why Blacks kill each other. That is why only 11% of the entire Indian population voted for the present representatives in the tri-cameral parliament, and why only 16% of the mixed-race (Colored) population voted for parliamentary representation.

Since I could reason and think for myself, which is over three decades, I have never voted because I did not and could not accept the conditions of the separate "development" policy held out to us and to every non-White citizen of our country.

I greatly admire Bishop Tutu and Dr. Boesak because they have the courage to speak up for humanity and social justice against innumerable odds. As a result of their efforts, for the first time in South Africa, the various cultural and religious groups are realising the need to unite and to try to persuade the government to change policy and by peaceful means. However, the deep-rooted division among Blacks, Indians, Coloreds and other racial groups as well as various golden opportunities carelessly thrust aside by the government have prevented these goals from being achieved.

At this stage it will be wise if I explain the term "deep-rooted" division. Some Blacks are against each other for tribal, political and social reasons and they scorn, despise and distrust Indians and Coloreds because they believe, not quite without good reason, that these groups have always

been favoured educationally and socially by the government. Similarly there exists among Indians a pure nationalistic and cultural feeling which excludes everyone else, and the Coloreds are divided on the basis of social strata, and the overpowering urge to adopt and even better the culture of the Whites.

Lately I have realised that my suffering could perhaps be a joy compared to that of many South Africans. For the past ten years I have mentally and spiritually been running away from my country because education for all the non-Whites has become corrupt and not a sound basis for any young and developing human being. I deplore violence and hatred and I still cannot see the good of student boycotts and the savagery they have been subjected to while the teachers sit still and receive their full pay. In the same way I could never understand why Blacks burned down their schools although they realise the standard amenities of their education to be in such an appalling state already. They fail to realise that the quality of their education will only decline further, while the White children's education is uninterrupted.

I think the time has come for everyone in South Africa to unite and attempt to persuade the government to change its policy quickly and effectively with due and immediate attention to the needs and educational requirements of the Black children.

It is easy for South African students here and in other foreign countries to encourage people to create situations of hunger and unemployment in South Africa because they are taken good care of by their hosts; they have enough to eat and a roof over their heads.

I am in no position to tell the rest of the world not to divest or to divest or not to impose the economic sanctions or to impose it. I can only point out how it has affected living in South Africa in the past. The moment the government is financially pressured from outside the people inside have to bear the brunt. To give you an example: sales tax on all goods has within the last six to eight months, increased from 4 percent to 12 percent to 14 percent as has the price of basic foodstuffs of the poor: bread, wheat, cornflour, meat, dairy products and candy et. al. So, the people with the money suffer, but the people at the lower income scale suffer the most because they do not receive an increase in salary. They are usually the first to lose employment as a result of divestment and sanctions.

I have thought a great deal about my experience of the past ten years when I no longer could prevent myself from becoming embittered and resentful of what is being done to our young students. In all humility I can say that my experience of religious faith convinces me that the Holy Spirit reveals the "truth" in every life situation and I constantly and sincerely hope and pray for peaceful change in the country of my birth. ●

Eric Jones is a student in GLSP, and a teacher in South Africa

Asking the Right Questions

The Anti-Porn Movement Needs Depth

By Tim Burke

In answering the silences of the patriarchy, the huge looming gaps where challenge is not accepted and principles go unquestioned, feminism has created silences of its own. Perhaps the most profound of these silences is on the subject of pornography and by extension, the subject of sexuality itself.

Let me begin by making it clear that I am speaking, by and large, of a simplistic sort of feminism that bears little resemblance to more sophisticated feminist discourses. But it is this simplistic discourse that one finds more widely disseminated, particularly at Wesleyan, where a sort of blind anti-porn politics has become a virtual orthodoxy.

The basic argument behind the anti-porn crusade is that pornography creates images of women's bodies and women's sexuality that are controlled by a male credo sexual violence. This not only helps fashion a stereotypical model of behavior and expectations that entraps women, but it encourages men to adopt a violent pattern of behavior toward women; thus, the label "rape culture" is often applied to pornography.

This argument has been criticized at times at Wesleyan, but only in the most simplistic terms. The critique usually points out that attacking imagery through over or covert censorship does nothing to change attitudes; that the true target should be the consumer of pornography rather than pornography itself.

There is an interesting point to be made along these lines, but as expressed above, it is a somewhat naive point of view. It attempts to deny the pro-

found influence of cultural images in shaping ideology, which is something impossible to deny. There is a relationship between the consumption of culture and perpetuation of ideology, but what neither viewpoint acknowledges is the complexity of that relationship. The more interesting questions are: *when* do images produce a patriarchal attitude? *Which* images are central to the production of this ideology? How do we deal with these images once they are identified?

These key questions are often glossed over in the campaign against pornography. It is taken as a fait accompli by many feminists that pornography is easy to identify, that it all produces a monolithic ideology and is all centrally important to that ideology and that the obvious solution to the problem is to destroy all of these kinds of images.

The worst silence of the anti-porn movement is on the definition of pornography. Generally, the movement prefers to skip the topic completely, but what few definitions are offered are tautological and self-fulfilling: "pornography is what oppresses women." How can we set out to attack pornography when we do not know what it is? The operative rule seems to be "I know pornography when I see it."

Often, anti-porn crusaders begin by saying "I'm not against eroticism, only pornography." "I'm not against sexuality, but against the oppressive manifestation of it." But what is eroticism? What is a non-oppressive sexuality? Again, it seems that everyone is supposed to know. It is somewhat like the Emperor's new clothes: to point out the nakedness of these distinctions is to invite a vigorous shushing from Those Who Know Better.

Can the picture of anything be separated from the context in which it is shown? Probably not, though it can be debated that cultural forms ("art") have an abstract meaning. I think relatively few people would care to aggressively take up that viewpoint, however, and it would certainly be anathema to the anti-porn movement. Perhaps context is one way to argue for

a distinction between eroticism and pornography. Eroticism is found in a museum; pornography in an adult book store.

On that level, the distinction is merely stilted and artificial (although the distinction mentioned is also a broadly accepted operative principle across society), and clearly, we cannot use the context in which a cultural form appears as our only guideline. But I think that it is worth keeping this definition in mind.

What else might distinguish pornography? Perhaps the work of pornography itself? Again, we wander into ambiguous territory where it might be best for the moment to dodge some of the deadliest uncertainties. Is the picture of two people having sex always pornography? From the rhetoric of the anti-porn movement, one might begin to think so. What can we claim as legitimate eroticism?

It is at this moment that I think the anti-porn movement makes some of its biggest mistakes. It often seems to accept that whatever shows the least overt sexuality is the least pornographic. Anything which explicitly displays sexuality and revels in it is suspect, to be watched with an eagle eye. And not merely sexuality, but heterosexual activity. Male homosexual culture is largely ignored (the stereotyping of gays doesn't concern most feminists—it is viewed as an impossibility that culture could oppress in more than one arena). The only place that the anti-porn movement seems to engage an eroticist project seriously is with lesbianism, but even here, a monolithic model of "chaste" female love tends to be highly validated; other forms, like lesbian S&M are scorned.

To most anti-porn crusaders, a man and a woman making love is pornographic if it is explicit. If it is suggested, or euphemisms are employed,

or de-emphasized, then it may be acceptable. But if sex takes center stage at any point, it making love becomes sex or worse yet, fucking, then it must be pornographic.

This is what I refuse to cede most of all. To me, the project of eroticism is to find a way to redeem the whole range of images of sexuality. I refuse to deny the arousing image; I will not give up the sexual excitement that I find in seeing a woman's breasts or a woman's vagina; I will not give up the excitement I feel in seeing the image of a man's erect penis or chest. I will not give up the arousal I feel in watching the image of two people of any sexual combination making love. I will not be made to feel that these images are in and of themselves part of a rape ideology.

This is precisely where the anti-porn forces have arrived: they have accepted on some level that anything revealing of sexuality is automatically pornographic. This is not an explicit ideology. In fact, the anti-porn movement would deny this equation if confronted with it. But this has become their practice, because they deny every moment at which these explicit images emerge, every moment that generates the desire for the sexual text. Many have remarked on the seeming coincidence of the far right and the feminist left embarking on the same project vis-a-vis pornography. It is no coincidence. Radical feminism on many fronts finds itself validating a Victorian image of women: mothering, nurturing, chaste, sexless. It accepts this onus in the hope of empowering it, and in doing so, gives the patriarchy its greatest victory. The anti-pornography movement has fallen into this new prudery, this reactionary attitude toward the image. It shows no interest in the eroticist project except as an empty reassurance. As pornography is destroyed, nothing is to fill its place but empty vacuum.

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Arriwani

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their food and people looked after each other."

Sheets are no longer provided at the hotel, and the rooms are not cleaned. The hotel has become a boarding house, and the new management seems to lack the compassion and caring of the Marchinskis. One tenant described the present situation as "a war" between the new management and the tenants. Another tenant, Jay Bingham, lamented that "when the Arriwani goes, a sense of community will be lost."

The director of the Middletown Community Health Center, Mark Masselli, calls Cotter's program of gentrification a "bricks and mortar" strategy, a strategy of pushing out the poor from the North end by buying up all the buildings and making them attractive to middle and high-income people. Cotter's plan, Masselli argues, is void of any commitment to the people who live in the North end.

Cotter, however, is bound by contract to find "suitable" housing for the tenants of the Arriwani if he chooses to redevelop the hotel. Cotter claims that he has built more single-room occupancies—SRO's, traditionally the homes of the poor and destitute—on Main Street.

But the SRO's that Cotter has built are generally unfurnished and too expensive for many of the people who need them. The average welfare check received by people who patronize St. Vincent De Paul's Place, the soup kitchen on Main Street, is somewhere around \$300 a month. Most of the SRO's Cotter has built cost around \$300 to \$400 a month.

Many of the merchants in the North end are only too happy to see the facades changed, the streets cleaned up, and the poor pushed away. People like Joe Lombardo of the Friendly Barber Shop and Ted Tine of the T and T Garage feel that the kind of traffic the soup kitchen and the Arriwani attract hurts their businesses. The prevailing attitude among most of the North end merchants is that the patrons of the soup kitchen and the Arriwani should

be swept off Main Street, pushed away into some far corner up on the CVH hill.

Sister Pat McKeon, the nun who runs the soup kitchen, claims that everyone has "a right to the sunshine," and that people's guilt about the ill and the homeless is what generates bad feelings. "What Sister Pat has done," Masselli says, "is bring the problem of the homeless to the surface. And that is our responsibility, keeping it at the surface. People will not feel the need to be compassionate and concerned if they can't see what's going on."

So the problem goes beyond the bricks and the SRO's, and is one mainly of attitudes; attitudes held toward the mentally ill and the destitute. George Orwell wrote that "In childhood we have been taught that tramps are blackguards, and consequently there exists in our minds a sort of ideal or typical tramp—a repulsive, rather dangerous creature, who would die rather than work or wash and wants nothing but to beg, drink, and rob hen-houses." The myth of the tramp-monster persists on Main Street. People are intimidated and threatened by the homeless and destitute, treating them as if they had some infectious disease like leprosy; best not to get too close.

Opponents of the soup kitchen cite the typical stereotype of the homeless—their violent nature—as a reason to move the kitchen off Main Street. But Sister Pat claims she has never had to call the police in order to handle the large groups of people who eat at the kitchen daily. The only way to begin solving the problem of the homeless and destitute is for people to realize that the homeless are human, and the myth of the tramp-monster must be dispelled.



The story of the Arriwani Hotel is an old story, one that has been acted out throughout the small towns and large cities of North America. It is the story of state mental hospitals deinstitutionalizing their patients in the 60's and the 70's, the story of cities redeveloping their downtowns, knocking down old, dilapidated buildings, and throwing up new steel and glass structures. It is the story of the poor and the mentally ill being pushed out by the thousands into the street.

Middletown was no exception, and in the 1970's, thousands of patients were deinstitutionalized from the Connecticut Valley Hospital. Deinstitutionalization was praised at first by human rights activists, but it soon turned sour. The newly released patients found little support in the community. Group homes, supported apartments and other "transitional living arrangements" were scarce or non-existent. Usually the released patient found him or herself in a flophouse or a rundown room, often worse off than he or she had been in the institution.

In Middletown, many of the outpatients found their way to the Arriwani Hotel or other low-rent rooms in the North end. Some lived in quarter- or half-way houses and some ended up back in the hospital. For the rest of the homeless in Middletown, there are, as of 1983, 15 beds available in the shelter above the soup kitchen. The Red Cross or the welfare office occasionally puts people up in one of the motels out on Route 66. The Salvation Army has done little or nothing to help the homeless, and there are always the back alleys and the bushes under the RR bridge.

The need for housing for the homeless is acute in Middletown and the redevelopment of the North end does not seem to promise a solution. Instead, it seems to aggravate the problem. Though the tax base might be restored to the North end, and the streets might sparkle, it will be interesting to see what the redevelopers have in mind for welfare recipients and the homeless, and the 65 people who now live day to day in the Arriwani Hotel. ●

Research from Dan Greenfield

Haymarket Peoples' Fund: Funding Social Change

By Hillary Smith
Haymarket Staff

"We are the world" is the theme which rang through the summer of 1985. "We are the ones who make a brighter day, so let's start giving." And all across the country, people did start giving. It wasn't just Ethiopia which captured the hearts and minds of Americans and provoked renewed activism. The cry for divestment of public funds from companies doing business in South Africa, the opposition to our Administration's military intervention in Central America and the demand for a safe and clean environment for ourselves and our children are heartening signs of a rebirth of concern and a movement for justice.

It was in this spirit Haymarket People's Fund was founded in 1974. Five people with inherited wealth joined together to act on their belief that people's power to organize in their own interest is the primary source of lasting and meaningful social change. These five people understood that economic and social injustice result from a system whose key feature is the unequal distribution of wealth and power.

Taking its name from the 1886 workers' strike in Chicago's Haymarket Square, Haymarket People's Fund goals are threefold: to help people understand the sources of social and economic injustice in our country and how to change them; to support people trying to take control of their lives through challenging established power, learning how to use leadership and developing self-respect; and to work towards the shared vision of a non-oppressive, life-supporting society. As a nonprofit public foundation, Haymarket has directed over \$2 million to grassroots, community organizations in the past 11 years: \$400,000 of that in 1984 alone.

"There were three very compelling

factors which originally attracted me to Haymarket," explained a new donor. "Most foundations and charitable organizations do not focus on changing the status quo—at best they provide a bandaids solution to a deeply rooted problem. Second, it is truly inspiring to me that the funding decisions for Haymarket are made by local activists: traditional foundations keep the decision-making power within the privileged group. And third, as a person with inherited wealth and a social conscience I had a number of personal and political issues I needed to explore. Through conferences for people with inherited money and forums on socially

Responsible Investing I have been able to acquire a genuine sense of control over my resources and take pride in how they are being used." At present, over 100 donors are contributing to Haymarket from their salaries, savings or inherited wealth.

Haymarket has been in the forefront of the major social issues of recent years. It was one of the first foundations to fund grassroots women's organizations that have helped transform the women's movement into a major force in American society. Haymarket was the pioneer in funding anti-nuclear organizing in New England and continues to be a leader in

funding coalitions working for peace and justice both at home and abroad. Grant-making is carried out by nine Regional Funding Boards throughout New England. Each Board has 5 to 10 members who are responsible for community outreach, interview potential grantees and making the funding decisions. Composed of political activists familiar with the issues of their areas, the Boards are responsive and sensitive to the communities they serve. During the past 11 years, Haymarket funds have supported the work of people of color, workers, women, tenants, students, the elderly, gay men and lesbians, environmentalists, veterans and welfare recipients.

To promote the broadly based commitment to social change, Haymarket has joined with other funds throughout the country to form a national network of 15 social change foundations called the Funding Exchange. Through skill sharing, technical assistance and special development projects the Funding Exchange works to strengthen all community funds.

The quality of our lives and the potential for social change are directly related to where our money comes from and where it goes. "It was very upsetting for me to realize that my money was being used to create the threat of nuclear war," said another Haymarket donor. Through the conscious rechanneling of wealth and power, Haymarket provides a model of social change, and continues to grow.

On Wednesday, October 30 at 7:30 p.m. in the COL Lounge there was a talk on investing in social change offered by WESPAN and Haymarket People's Fund. For more information about the Haymarket People's Fund or about publications on funding social change and socially responsible investing contact WESPAN, the Wesleyan Progressive Alumni Network at Box A.



The Time Has Come...

by David Freedman

An editorial in the Argus read, "Dialogue is better than deafness and dumbness, and far superior to riot." But what purpose does dialogue really serve? Is the end of dialogue self-empowerment or change? If it is the former, then dialogue is better. It is truly a wonderful feeling to be in a position from which to conduct dialogue. So, too, is the feeling from civil disobedience. How wonderful it feels. It gives a sense of true trial and triumph. But triumph over what? It is a triumph over individual guilt.

If the goal is change, however, dialogue has proven to be useless. For more than seven years, dialogue has been carried on over Wesleyan's lack of divestment plans. What has it accomplished? Nothing. The time has come for escalation.

It is time to become militant. [Websters Dictionary defines militant as aggressively active.] There are three levels of militant action. First, it is an action that brings a certain amount of fear into the target. It is a fear of what will be done. It can be likened to holding a gun on someone. The second's goal is also fear. It is immediate fear that forces immediate action. It is like shooting a gun over the target's head. The third level is that of guerrilla warfare. It consists of killing the target with a deliberate action. These are specific examples of the three levels of militant action and are not exclusive. The destruction or defacing of property has proved useful throughout the history of protest, and can be regarded as stage one action too.

Looked at out of context, these ideas, admittedly, are hard to accept. But, no action is ever carried out in a vacuum. The police perform these actions every day, but their actions are sanctioned and condoned because they act in the name of the state. Can anyone deny that standard police procedure is to fire

warning shots? Can anyone deny Kent State was anything but cold blooded murder? Can anyone deny that eleven members of MOVE, seven of them children, were killed in a fire started by the Philadelphia Police Department and sanctioned by city hall? Are these not just a few specific examples of the daily brutality and warlike behavior of the police and National Guard?

Do not misunderstand, this is not a call to adopt the methods of our oppressors. It is a call for the reevaluation of our goals. It is a call for the reevaluation of our individual and group commitment to social and economic change within America's foreign and domestic policies. And finally, it is a call for the reevaluation of the process by which we reach those goals. What lengths are we, as individuals, prepared to go to, to bring about substantial change? We have the money and power to be able to do civil disobedience with convenience. It is said that minor infractions, such as \$68 tickets, are nothing to us because

"mommy and daddy" can always bail us out. It is hard to combat such challenges, and in fact, they may not be combatable. After seven years of protest and no change, a minor action of blockading a building is enough to split SAAG. It is enough that the greatest fear is now public relations with those "alienated" by the action. It is enough to make individuals feel self-empowered. Can we combat challenges to our sincerity in light of this? Probably not.

Change does not bring itself about, and it is becoming increasingly evident that dialogue does not bring change about either. And, when it does, the changes are minor and designed to appease the angry communities and keep them from riot. But minor concessions do not cure problems. Minor concessions are like Band-aiding a dismembered arm back onto the body. It looks to the patient like (s)he is being helped when actually (s)he is being blinded.

The Black Panther organization was crushed through continuous illegal harassment and persecution by the police. Why? Because by working within the law, the Panthers became a militant revolutionary group that sought economic, social, and racial change. Their ten-point platform was a call for equality and justice. Could the passivity of Martin Luther King Jr. have worked without the threat that the Black Panther posed? No. The fear that armed Black Panthers posed was an essential part of the Black struggle for freedom and equality.

In fact, I would contend that no change has ever occurred through passivity without the threat or realization of militancy. Gandhi was able to control the militancy of the Indian people, but there was a constant threat that if change did not occur quickly, violent revolution would probably occur. In South Africa, the economic pressure of the international community is generally viewed as generating concessions from Pretoria, but could this passive tact be effective without the ever growing threat of violent revolution from the African National Congress? No. Passive action has failed in Ireland. Until the Irish Republican Army was formed and began its actions, Sinn Fein, the electoral wing, could not even get its candidates placed on the ballot. Passive action can be useful, but only when the threat of militancy backs it.

Therefore, the time has come to adopt a militant platform. The time for dialogue has long since passed without any progress or concessions. Dialogue and civility have proven themselves self-empowering, but failed to provide any substantial change. If our goal is to free ourselves of guilt and to feel empowered, then dialogue should be our method. But, if our goal is to bring about substantial change, we must adopt a militant policy. The time has come.



North College Blockade for Divestment And Social Responsibility

by Reid Cramer

A person who believes in freedom will do anything under the sun to acquire or achieve their freedom, and they will do anything under the sun to preserve their freedom.

—Malcolm X

The sun beats down in South Africa; every day it's hot and every day there's a struggle; even the trustees know about this heat wave. Yet this is an old conflict rooted to the earliest days of European expansionism. The South African system represents a vicious contemporary expression of the oppression of self-determination and the forced subjugation of a native people. The majority of the people there are calling for change and the government responds with bullets.

The apartheid system is riddled with contradictions and illusions that have been perpetuated solely by violence. Debates in our country don't seem to focus on whether change is appropriate in South Africa but rather on what the structure of the reforms should be. However, this discussion is plagued by a contradiction of grandiose proportions. Preaching reform in South African and of its apartheid system is a major crime of double-speak. The problem is that if reform is instituted by the government, it will only extend as far as they are able to maintain their control, their profits, and their racial superiority. In other words, reform will not be enough. The struggle for change in South Africa is not a struggle for reform but a struggle for revolution; though the fight for self-determination is not a revolutionary struggle everywhere, in South Africa, revolution might be the only alternative to white majority rule. The overthrow of Pretoria may not be foreseeable in the near future, but the seeds of change are germinating.

Our present task in America is not revolutionary; our task instead is to promote self-determinism. The connection between American companies and the reactionary government in South Africa works to suppress a basic fight for self-determination. Liberation struggles exist around the world and often when the opposition is fierce enough and stubborn enough, the

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Photo by Tom Davis

This position paper is being submitted, as Colin Campbell requested, to the Social Implications Subcommittee of the Board of Trustees.

WHY WE MUST DIVEST:

Another report to another committee studying divestment

We are the Simon Nkodi affinity group. Some of us are members of SAAG. Some of us are not. All of us were arrested in the October 11 action. We are committed to the LIBERATION of African peoples and are committed to full and immediate divestment of all of our university's funds from companies doing business in South Africa. We write this statement only because you, the administration, have asked us to. We believe that the study of the issue of divestment has gone on long enough. But you say no, another committee must be set up. We say that the time for divestment is now, before another person dies in South Africa. There is no other way to wash our hands of blood of apartheid. We must divest. There is no other way.

We will not give you all of the economic or social reasons for divestment. Others will do that. We will tell you that another committee is not the answer. We will tell you that our university must divest because it is the morally correct thing to do. As Gandhi says, the first responsibility of leaders is to strictly adhere to their principles of morality. You have said that you find apartheid morally reprehensible. Therefore your responsibility as our leaders is to remove us from the apartheid system. Because of our university's investments, everyone here, students, faculty, staff, and administration, is part of the crutch that props up the repressive regime in South Africa. The only way we, as a community, can begin to remove that crutch is to divest. We must divest. There is no other way.

Divestment is only the beginning of the steps we, as a university, can take to help further the change in both South

African and American society that must come. Divestment is only the FIRST step. We should begin to look at where our money is going, beyond South Africa. Is this university's endowment contributing to the rape of the world's resources and people through oppression abroad and at home? If we were able to use divestment as a launching pad to further the struggle against apartheid, this university could have a real, rather than symbolic, effect on the government of South Africa. But first we must divest. There is no other way.

Instead of spending our time writing this paper we would rather be outside your door telling you how we feel about divestment. But you insist on closing your door with your written reports in hand. You insist on shutting yourself off, inside your room with your trustees who care more about the financial state of our university than the moral principles of our education. Where was the President of our university on October 11? The fact that he was trying to garner good publicity in Hartford instead of responding to our outrage over Wesleyan's investment policy is evidence of the distorted priorities of this administration. "Dollars above morals and education" is the way the motto of this university should read. It is time that this university change its fiscal policy. The first, not the last, step in this process is full and complete divestment. We must divest. There is no other way.

In conclusion we leave you with a question: How do you feel being the crutch of a regime that kills its own people every day? We are horrified. The only way to change this horrifying situation is to divest. We must divest. There is no other way.

Ted Bardacke '89
David Freedman '89
Stephanie Foster '88
Lisa Nash '89
Andrew Shear '89
Jean Rabinowitz '89
Amy Randall '89

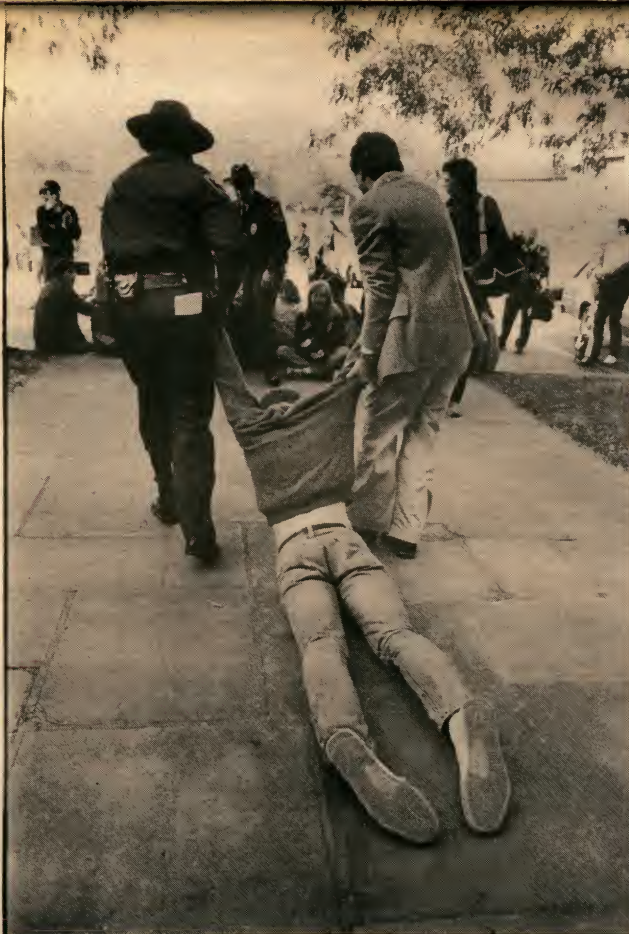


photo by Shana Sureck

Divestment: October 11th, 1985

Politics And Process

On Affinity Groups

by David Weber

Affinity groups have played a major role in campus politics at Wesleyan this semester, yet the idea of the 'affinity group' remains a vague and/or unknown concept for many people. Actual affinity groups vary tremendously, their duration ranging from mutual support and local outreach to attempts to dismantle nuclear warheads and dent nuclear submarines. Given this variety, finding a simple, clear definition of affinity group is difficult, if not impossible. What follows is an attempt to describe one view what affinity groups are or should be. I will begin with what I think are some common assumptions and methods, and then proceed to discuss the nature and purposes of affinity groups. No effort has been made here to address problems or potential criticisms, although they certainly exist. Rather, a general look at one view is presented.

Affinity groups, as I understand them, are an attempt to transcend the common tendency of group process towards conflict and hierarchy. More specifically, affinity groups attempt to create a structure which will facilitate equitable conflict resolution, decision making and maintain a non-hierarchical, mutually supportive environment for its members. These goals are particularly important when a group is participating in a civil disobedience action, large or small, but the value of affinity groups is not limited to these situations. In attempting to achieve these goals, certain assumptions are necessary and particular methods are often utilized.

The most important assumption (for me at least) is that all people are full members of world society and deserve respect as such. This is not to say that the opinions, actions and attitudes of all people are equally valid and worthy, but rather that the individual person is valuable and that it is opinions, attitudes, information and actions that can or should be challenged or questioned, not the individual him/herself. Put more simply, confront behaviors, not persons. Other assumptions follow from this one. Established hierarchies are (normally) a hindrance to making democratic, well considered decisions and should be avoided. People should be listened to and heard, and all members should consider the issues and share their thoughts and ideas. Everyone's input is important. Finally, and crucial, is that people must share commitment to both the group and at least some aspects of the goal that led to its foundation. Without this commitment, a group may falter when faced with troublesome issues and individuals may become alienated from the group, thus common commitment is an assumed necessity. These are some of the assumptions that are common to most affinity groups.

The methods utilized by affinity groups vary, but most use what is commonly known as consensus process (see box). At times some of the methods of consensus process are utilized without the formal consensus procedures. These methods include rotating facilitators, the 'stack' when necessary, and crit/self-crit. The 'stack' is used when many people wish to speak at once. Each person wishing to speak signals the facilitator and a list is made. People talk in the order of the list. If a comment has been made by another person, the individual is expected to pass. There are some serious problems with stacking in this manner, but it insures that people get to finish without interruption and that even more quiet members get to speak. Crit/self-crit is a process by which each member of the group offers constructive criticism of the group and of oneself. This helps the members of the group to understand one another and the problems and difficulties that arise within their process and interaction. People learn about themselves and can use the comments to avoid future personal and group difficulties. Although these assumptions and methods are important aspects of most affinity groups, there are crucial characteristics which remain to be addressed.

Perhaps the key aspect of an effective affinity group is that members have some affinity with each other. This affinity can vary from shared working or living situations, political concerns, a common past experience or future goals, or merely be based on social friendship between the members. To take a few examples: affinity groups at the Oct. 11 action at North College included groups comprised of individuals from households, classes, past and present political activities, and one made up primarily of people who would have graduated before 1986, but did not for various reasons; one Hartford affinity group is comprised of retired women concerned with various political issues, particularly Central America, and the Plowshares is an affinity group that is now famous for its disarmament actions. The idea that people in such a group share some affinity is not assumed and then forgotten; instead it is, when possible, developed over time.

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photo by Shana Sureck

Consensus Decision Making

WHAT IS CONSENSUS?

Consensus is a process for group decision-making. It is a method by which an entire group of people can come to an agreement. The input and ideas of all participants are gathered and synthesized to arrive at a final decision acceptable to all. Through consensus, we are not only working to achieve better solutions, but also to promote the growth of community and trust.

CONSENSUS VS. VOTING

Voting is a means by which we choose one alternative from several. Consensus, on the other hand, is a process of synthesizing many diverse elements together.

With consensus people can and should work through differences and reach a mutually satisfactory position. It is possible for one person's insights or strongly held beliefs to sway the whole group. No ideas are lost, each member's input is valued as part of the solution.

WHAT DOES CONSENSUS MEAN?

Consensus does not mean that everyone thinks that the decision made is necessarily the best one possible, or even that they are sure it will work. What it does mean is that in coming to that decision, no one felt that her/his position on the matter was misunderstood or that it wasn't given a proper hearing. Hopefully, everyone will think it is the best decision; this often happens because, when it works, collective intelligence does come up with better solutions than could individuals.

FORMING THE CONSENSUS PROPOSALS

During discussion a proposal for resolution is put forward. It is amended and modified through more discussion, or withdrawn if it seems to be a dead end. During this discussion period it is important to articulate differences clearly. It is the responsibility of those who are having trouble with a proposal to put forth alternative suggestions.

The fundamental right of consensus is for all people to be able to express themselves in their own words and of their own will. The fundamental responsibility of consensus is to assure others of their right to speak and be heard. Coercion and

trade-offs are replaced with creative alternatives, and compromise with synthesis.

When a proposal seems to be well understood by everyone, and there are no new changes asked for, the facilitator(s) can ask if there are any objections or reservations to it. If there are no objections, there can be a call for consensus. If there are still no objections, then after a moment of silence you have your decision. Once consensus does appear to have been reached, it really helps to have someone repeat the decision to the group so everyone is clear on what has been decided.

ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR WHICH HELP A GROUP REACH DECISIONS.

—Responsibility: Participants are responsible for voicing their opinions, participating in the discussion, and actively implementing the agreement.

—Self-discipline: Blocking consensus should only be done for principled objections. Object clearly, to the point, and without putdowns or speeches. Participate in finding an alternative solution.

—Respect: Respect others and trust them to make responsible input.

—Cooperation: Look for areas of agreement and common ground, and build on them. Avoid competitive, right/wrong, win/lose thinking.

—Struggle: Use clear means of disagreement—no putdowns. Use disagreements and arguments to learn, grow, and change. Work hard to build unity in the group, but not at the expense of the individuals who are its members.

DIFFICULTIES IN REACHING CONSENSUS

If a decision has been reached, or is on the verge of being reached that you cannot support, there are several ways to express your objections:

Non-support—"I don't see the need for this, but I'll go along."

Reservations—"I think this may be a mistake but I can live with it."

Standing aside—"I personally can't do this, but I won't stop others from doing it."

Blocking—"I cannot support this or allow the group to support this. It is im-

moral." If a final decision violates someone's fundamental moral values they are obligated to block consensus.

Withdrawing from the group.

Obviously, if many people express non-support or reservations or stand aside or leave the group, it may not be a viable decision even if no one directly blocks it. This is what is known as a "lukewarm" consensus and it is just as desirable as a lukewarm beer or a lukewarm bath.

If consensus is blocked and no new consensus can be reached, the group stays with whatever the previous decision was on the subject, or does nothing if that is applicable. Major philosophical or moral questions that will come up with each affinity group will have to be worked through as soon as the group forms.

MAKING DECISIONS DURING AN ACTION

It is clear that consensus is a time consuming activity. It is therefore important for affinity groups to make their fundamental decisions prior to going into an action. Questions such as: "How do we respond to police activity designed to keep us away from the site of the action? What do we do if faced with a provocateur in our group or a nearby group. What do we do if the action changes focus or scope at the last moment?" are best decided in advance.

In the event that unplanned for circumstances arise in the middle of an action, a quick decision-making process needs to be implemented. It helps to have selected a facilitator in advance.

It will be the facilitator's duties to quickly and succinctly articulate the problem to be discussed and to eliminate those points where agreement has already been reached. It is the responsibility of everyone in the group to keep the discussion to a minimum (remember you may have to act quickly). If your point has been made by someone else, there is no need to restate it. A calm approach and clear desire to come to an agreement quickly can help the process. Strong objections should be limited to matters of principle.

From the War Resisters League Organizers Manual

New Haven Greens

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Hermes: How was the Green Party formed in New Haven?

Wolff: In November 1984, a group of about fifteen people got together, in order to form a third political party in New Haven. We decided to do everything in stages. First, we made up a master list of about sixty to seventy people who might be interested in joining a third political party. Each person from the initial group was responsible for getting in touch with five people from the master list, and tell them that we're thinking about starting a political party, and running for office. We shared our opinion on the issues that we're interested in and asked for their opinions. If they were positive about the idea, we'd ask them if they felt that they could spend time working for the party. We got a few people who said that they wanted to help organize, and many people who were interested in joining.

We organized and advertised for a convention held on June 1, 1985 for anyone who was interested in the Green Party. There were 110 people at that meeting. We set up five committees and gave each one a task. They had to produce a portion of the political platform. The next convention was held on July 10, 1985 where the platform was evaluated. The platform was windy, loquacious, bullshit and was forty pages long, which we cut down to fifteen. We also have ten candidates: a mayor, a city/town clerk and eight alderpersons.

Hermes: How was it decided that you'd run for mayor?

Wolff: Between 1982-1985 I was in the New Haven Register every few months because of my involvement with the New Haven Revenue Commission. Then there was the strike at Yale, and I was in the papers a lot because I was the spokesperson for the union. So when it was decided to form a Green Party, some of the organizers came to me and said that I ought to run for mayor, because I'm already well known.

Hermes: How does the Green Party fit into America's political system?

Wolff: The American radical tradition is an isolated tradition. The "mainstream" political groups have succeeded in isolating radicals of various types so that they work in small organizations sequestered away from the mainline culture. Periodically they are allowed to break in, like in the end of the Vietnam War, but only for a short amount of time around one particular issue and it usually doesn't last.

I've always been a radical, critical of America's social system, but terrified of the idea of being part of some isolated group. Is there a way to present issues such as opposition to intervention in Central America and Nicaragua, against Apartheid in South Africa, against nuclear weapons, pro-choice and ending discrimination against homosexuals? Is there a way to take affirmative action towards these issues, without being squeezed into the "weirdo" corner? I think that the Green Party has done that. That's what blows my mind. It may not last, we may get boxed back into the corner, but for the last three months we're not that. That's what makes the Green Party such a political breakthrough, potentially for the whole United States.

Hermes: What connection does the New Haven Green Party have with the Green Party in Germany?

Wolff: In Germany, the Green Party started out as a small party in a country whose politics are like that of the United States. We both have two political parties. ...When the Green Party started in Germany, people told them that there couldn't be a third party. In five years they had major parliamentary representation and were a major political force. ...Most people in the New Haven Green Party don't care what issues are raised by the German, French or Belgian Green Parties. To use the name "Green Party" expresses not only our environmental concerns but also our seriousness politically. We're not here simply to raise issues, ...we're here to win. We want to build a political movement that has power. We're not naive, we don't think it'll happen overnight.

Another reason we choose the name "Green Party" is again this focus on what I would call making politics that are usually pushed into the corner in America more central. So we thought about how to symbolize in our name our focus on real daily life issues in New Haven. What's at the center of daily life in New Haven? The New Haven Green. So here we have the New Haven Green



Rick Wolff, Green Party Candidate for Mayor of New Haven

Party; Green for environment, Green for Germany, and the New Haven Green. We rejected the term "socialist" on the grounds that 95 percent of what we want to say we can say if we don't call ourselves socialists.

Hermes: You're running for mayor, Frank Annunziato is running for city/town clerk, and eight Green Party members are running for Alderperson in eight wards. What are your hopes for the election on November 5th?

Wolff: At this point, if we won it would discredit us. It's better for us to be out in the woods for a long time so that we can develop our skills, and the fortitude that comes from failure. So when we finally do get it we've got tested people who know how to take a loss and overcome adversity.

Under Connecticut law there are three kinds of parties. Major parties must get 20 percent or more of the votes. Minor parties must get more than 1 percent and less than 20 percent of the votes. There are also petitioning parties who have not run in past elections. These groups have to go out and get a certain number of signatures to be on the ballot. This is how the Green Party became a political party.

If we get, in this election, 1 percent of the vote or more then we will be a minor party that means that two years from now we will automatically be on the ballot. New Haven has not had more than two parties on an ongoing basis. We will now be a part of the political scenery, granted a junior part...This means that if the Green Party says something the press will take us seriously because we're on the ballot.

Hermes: Since you do not expect that the Green Party will win any political positions this election, what are the future plans of the Party?

Wolff: We will keep the Green Party active in New Haven and at the forefront of important issues that reflect our concerns. Because of our limited strength, we will have to pick three or four ongoing issues around which we will organize. We will start organizing ward by ward. We will seek small groups of people from each of the thirty wards and ask them to start meeting and thinking about running for office. In other words, within a two year period, we'll be in a much stronger position than we are this fall. In 1987 we won't be running in eight wards, we'll be running in sixteen, twenty or even thirty wards. ...At that point we can evaluate what we did right and what we screwed up. In the end that's the only way that it can work.

Hermes: Will it work?

Wolff: I don't know...The problem is not figuring out what to do, the problem is doing it. On the other hand, this is the only way that I know of for "radicals" to become politically effective in our government.

Divestment

continued from page 6

necessity of revolution becomes apparent. Revolutionary change should be seen as a historical fact: revolutions have occurred in the past and will continue to occur in the future. Foreign interests do not have the right to violate the sovereignty of nations in the throes of revolutionary struggle. The American people cannot let their companies continue to suppress the basic struggle for self-determination in South Africa, just as they cannot let their government suppress such a struggle in Nicaragua.

The students all over the world are the ones who bring about a change, old people don't bring about a change...because if you're ready for some action, then you're not old.

—Malcolm X

American students cannot let their universities continue to support companies which work to suppress the basic struggle for self-determination in South Africa. Divestment is not a revolutionary movement and the people who support it are not out to destroy the capitalist system. This is evident when one reviews the various personalities and universities who support divestment. However, the students who advocate divestment are joining a larger movement. Our university is not among the schools which have divested and, therefore, it is still financially supporting the Pretoria regime and contributing to suppression of self-determination. As students, we must hold our institution accountable! Wesleyan has no basis for claiming that its engagement in South Africa is constructive — our present engagement is an oppressive engagement.

Our trustees have heard these words before; they listen attentively and respond passively. Students must force divestment. Obviously, Wesleyan stays invested in South Africa because the investments are profitable. Thus the students' task is defined: we must make investment in South Africa unprofitable. The battle is well underway. We must expose our institution to continued pressure and assert our power as the members of this community and investors in the university. The university profits but the victims of the South African regime will pay! Student demands for divestment have a history at Wesleyan which extends seven years; however, we must be continually aware that divestment is a national movement.

October 11th was a National Anti-Apartheid Day. In over thirty major cities and a hundred campuses,



thousands participated in the largest ever coordinated protest day against United States investment in South Africa. These types of outcries have FORCED total divestment actions at over thirty schools for a divestment total of about \$140 million. While Wesleyan students were arrested at North College, other students were arrested at UC-Berkeley; the University of Minnesota, Stanford University, and the University of Illinois. Police were called onto several campuses to arrest students who obstructed the administrations' business. The students who believe in divestment are engaged in a struggle.

Our administration must be aware, and continue to be MADE aware, that there is a conflict of interests. The administration responds to our protest with manipulative delaying tactics and so we must let them know that we are aware that this is their policy. The specifics of these manipulative efforts vary, but in hopes of pacifying student demands, the administration 1) encourages further analysis and education 2) stalls for time in the hope that the pressure will subside, and 3) works to coopt any threatening student movement by encouraging dialogue and cooperation.

There is always a need for education, dialogue, and cooperation, but it seems that often the administration promotes such activities only to serve its own purposes and to subvert any student challenge.

The latest manifestation of these maneuvers is the University-sponsored lecture series on South Africa. This is an obvious plan to stall for time and present a one-sided perception of the South African issue. There is no speaker representing the views of the African National Congress and, to my knowledge, only one speaker out of seven who favors divestment. This speaker is part of the only panel discussion of the series — the others are lecturers. This lecture series is a largely political maneuver to pacify the students who are opposed to our investment policy.

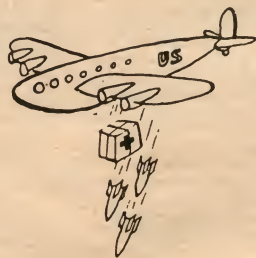
In the face of this educational challenge, we must not only try to balance the views presented but must continue to both critically review our positions and act as students who help pay for apartheid. We must also critically review the motives of institutional leaders in maintaining a profitable endowment which includes stock in South Africa. The divestment movement is growing nationwide. As the founder of a Consortium of Colleges to address divestment, Wesleyan can still set a precedent. As students we must keep the pressure on.

Hermes, November 1, 1985 page 8



Green Party Candidates (l to r): Nathan Light, Ward 7; Barbara Greenwood, Ward 25; Rick Wolff, Mayor; Frank Annunziato, City/Town Clerk; Charles Malone, Ward 9; Julia Berger, Ward 2; Frank Vernava, Ward 10; Chris Gray, Ward 24; Steve Kass, Ward 14; Joel Schechter, Ward 8; Jeri Baker - Green Party Chairwoman.

Bread Not Bombs



by Jennie Delson

"I wouldn't be surprised if the Nicaraguans and their communist friends took over all of Central America," said a Honduran student. His statement reflects the strong fear of the people of Honduras, a nation surrounded by revolutionary Nicaragua and turbulent El Salvador.

Statistics found in the U.S. press alleging a large Soviet presence in Nicaragua scare those who live in Honduras, which still is supposed to be a country of peace. The majority of Hondurans support the United States efforts in the region because they are scared of communism, Nicaraguan attack, the expansionist Salvadorans and war in general. Without American support the Hondurans would not be able to

defend their own country.

This viewpoint is quite different from which of the American left that feels that the U.S. should not interfere in the problems of its Southern neighbors. Most Hondurans do not understand this viewpoint.

"Let us live without U.S. interference and we will cease to exist," said a Honduran restaurateur.

Honduras and U.S. Aid

Presently, there are 150 American Special Force instructors in Honduras training Honduran troops. The 900 American troops that are then will leave within 180 days and be replaced by a group of equal size. Only the commanding officers must stay in Honduras for more than a year. Every few weeks, 150-man companies come to the

country jungle. U.S. tanks have made their way into this third world nation. Honduras hopes the U.S. efforts will intimidate Nicaragua enough to avoid war.

Because of the nation's history, Honduras has succumbed to this dependency knowing that they could not survive without it. Often they grudgingly admit that their land is being used to fight a war between the United States and Russia. But many accept it because they've watched their Latin American brothers in Cuba and Nicaragua feel that not much has changed in either country.

"The United States presence is more pleasant than Cuba or the USSR. The American presence is saying to Nicaragua 'Don't attack because we're here,'" said Honduran Commander in Chief, General Walter Lopez.

The Honduran mentality is quite different from that of Americans. Their mind set has its roots in the nation's history of dependence on the United

States. National pride in this nation has been damaged because of the long-standing U.S. economic hegemony. Here are some examples:

A Honduran oligarchy, similar to the oligarchic 14 families of El Salvador never developed until the 1950's in Honduras because foreign agro-exporting firms remained predominant.

The United Fruit Company, since renamed United Brands, and the Standard Fruit and Steamship Company, now a subsidiary of Castle and Cooke, together owned or leased over 630,000 acres of Honduras in the late 1950's.

The American companies in Honduras such as Dole, Chiquita (now leaving because they are afraid of the political dangers), and Coca-Cola have given Hondurans jobs but have provided for little social improvement.

Prison Verde, or Green Prison, written by Honduran author Ramon Amaya Amador revealed the unhealthy environment in which banana plantation workers lived. The book was banned by the government until 1983.

Robert Suazo Cordova is the first Honduran president to be elected and complete his term without being overthrown.

These are only a few of the reasons that Hondurans have developed a negative image of themselves. This backseat attitude still prevails in many aspects of Honduran life, styming government projects and the self confidence of its people. The people are used to the existence of corruption and bribery in the government, government projects remaining half-completed for years, the electricity going off periodically, their telephone (if they are rich enough to afford one) being turned off for no good reason, and the sight of dirty and malnourished children.

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Gregory's Path A Cautionary Tale

by Dan Kolbert

As Gregory Samuels awoke from a night's sleep punctuated by dreams of mid-terms, luncheon dates and castration, he discovered that his house had been transformed into a driveway.

He put on his bathrobe, stepping gingerly on the still steaming black gravel, and went into the bathroom to brush his teeth. Inside, between the tub and toilet, were two men he had never seen before, spreading dirt. Gregory decided to postpone his morning ablutions.

In the kitchen he found his housemate, Franz. Franz was on his knees, caressing the warm, sticky surface of their newly paved floor.

"I thought you liked linoleum," Gregory whimpered softly, finding it difficult to speak.

"So did I. But this stuff's great. We'll never have to clean it or anything." He poured a half-bottle of day-old beer onto the floor to demonstrate its absorptive facilities.

Franz could hardly contain his enthusiasm for their new floor surfacing as he and Gregory ate breakfast. He got up on the slightest pretext and walked slowly around the now entirely paved house. His steps were slow and deliberate, and he let each foot sink softly in before he stepped off.

Gregory ate his eggs slowly and methodically, and wondered if all this would show up on his student account.

As he stood up to clear the dishes, Gregory noticed a tiny mound of gravel by his feet.

Instead of the usual rotting wooden stairs, a threatening black ramp greeted Gregory as he stepped into the cold New England air. Best not take anything for granted today, he thought. Mrs. Martucci's flower bed had been replaced by, or more likely buried under, several tons of gravel, and a full dumptruck was parked in front of the pile. The two men Gregory had seen in his bathroom stood by the back of the truck, leaning on their shovels and smiling politely as he passed.

An engine turned over, and Gregory looked back at a large bulldozer parked squarely in the middle of the street. He felt his sphincter contract, but walked as calmly as he could in the opposite direction, toward the library.

He heard the behemoth slip clumsily into gear, but he did not look back.

Gregory heard the deep roar of the engine, the crunch of the treads. This was certainly not what he

Franz was on his knees, caressing the warm, sticky surface of their newly paved floor

had expected from college life. Pretending to adjust the velcro on his Reeboks, he glanced back. The bulldozer had followed him for almost a hundred yards now, leaving a trail of gravel behind. The two men were busy raking it smooth.

His stomach tensed, the bile rose in his throat, his lungs froze; but Gregory did not give in to panic. He straightened, breathed in deeply, and set off again at a medium trot.

The bulldozer easily kept pace. The dull moan of the engine gripped Gregory's heart like icy fingers. He cut right, onto the well-worn path behind the athletic

fields. He looked back as the bulldozer crashed through the hedges. The two men were working frantically now, trying to keep up with their metal monster as it pushed on, oblivious to everything in its way.

Gregory was decidedly tense. He was running now, barely able to keep his balance. He was sure that the bulldozer would crush him as it was crushing everything else. His fears were apparently ill founded, as the machine kept a fixed distance between them, never nearing or falling back.

His classroom came into view, and Gregory sprinted the last fifty yards. As he slammed the door behind him, he looked back. The bulldozer stared him in the

The dull moan of the engine gripped Gregory's heart like icy fingers

face, a black cloud of exhaust rising slowly, thickly, threateningly. Gregory found a seat in the far corner of the room.

Class passed slowly, but fifty minutes later Gregory was outdoors again. The bulldozer was nowhere in sight; sphincter, lungs and blood pressure all relaxed. The only evidence of the morning's events were two small piles of gravel on either side of the door, and trails of tar climbing the walls alongside the ivy.

Gregory stepped hesitantly between the two silent sentinels. They seemed to lean slightly inward as he

passed. Gregory let out a low moan of terror. His knees shook, and his mouth dried out. Summoning his remaining strength, he jumped over the piles and tore off down the path.

As he turned a corner, he saw the mounds moving, definitely moving. He doubled his speed.

At the next turn, he saw the mounds gliding along, slowly closing the distance remaining between them and his rapidly retreating heels. Gregory was sure that something was wrong.

Gregory felt the earth shaking under his feet. He looked down and saw that the gravel advanced to meet each foot as it hit the ground. He pushed on, faster and faster, but the gravel kept stride.

Desperately, Gregory darted to the left, trying to outmaneuver the gravel. To his horror, he found that his pursuer had anticipated his move, and was in fact several feet ahead of him now. Every time he changed direction, the gravel was already there. Gregory was finding it difficult to think clearly.

In front of the administrative building, the two men were digging a trench. Gregory ran wildly toward them, screaming hysterically. He tripped on a shovel and tumbled into the gaping hole. The gravel poured in on top of him, and he immediately disappeared under the black pile.

"Mud," said one of the workers as he leveled out the mound. "I hate mud." ●



Affinity

continued from page 7

Ideally, members of an affinity group should learn to know each other well. That is, they should know each other's strengths and weaknesses, their sore points and Achilles' heels. They should know how each other might react in various situations, and how they might positively affect a fellow members actions. This aspect of affinity is particularly important for a group going into a potentially volatile civil disobedience situation. (For example, blockading a building where the employees and police have no sympathy for the protestors and no experience with non-violent civil disobedience. Today Berkeley, Cal. is a volatile situation for CD; Wesleyan, fortunately, is not.) Having this personal awareness of each other can help a group maintain a calm, cohesive and non-violent character in tense or unforeseen situations. Affinity groups are not necessarily or by definition calm or non-violent, but even for an excited and violent group this personal knowledge of each other can help the group deal with situations and emotions in a mutually acceptable way. Additionally, this affinity can serve as support for a member at any time, be it in jail or when facing a personal crisis. The affinity group provides support and deals with issues as they arise (if they are not anticipated and dealt with ahead of time) whenever they arise, if at all possible.

The decision making process is one which is important for both the affinity group and for a larger group undertaking direct action. Ideally, as many scenarios as possible are thought out in advance, with appropriate decisions made prior to the situations development. For example, a group might want to consider how they will respond to police, if police would arrive, whether they plan to cooperate with arrest proceedings if arrest is a possible result, or how

they might respond if an unknown person joins the action. When situations arise that were unanticipated, the mutual respect of all members of the group is a crucial part of the affinity group's ability to make decisions effectively and efficiently.

Affinity groups play an additional role at large actions, particularly when these actions operate in a democratic or decentralized way. The affinity group structure allows for efficient communication and input into decisions by all of the people participating. To use the October 11 action as an example, representatives from each affinity group (usually rotating within each group) gathered to share and discuss concerns, questions, issues, developments, information, proposals, etc. Each rep then returned to their affinity group where the proposals of the other groups would be discussed and, if appropriate, decided upon. Reps (the same one or a new one from each group) would then return to the 'spokes' meeting to share the outcomes of the discussions, any decisions that were made, and any new issues that might have come up. This happened fairly continuously on Oct. 11, but the particulars would obviously vary depending on the situation. Within this structure, affinity groups maintain a certain amount of autonomy, as long as they do not violate decisions agreed upon by the larger group. Thus a conglomeration of affinity groups can be an effective means for co-ordinating large group decision making and in facilitating communication and input among all the people of such a group.

Affinity groups often form before an action and disband afterwards, but often they exist more consistent-

ly, undertaking various activities as deemed appropriate by the group. This continual existence helps foster the personal affinity and understanding that is so helpful for both making decisions under pressure, for dealing with unexpected circumstances, and more generally for facilitating group process. It is important to note that affinity groups choose name for themselves, often reflecting the groups affinity, goals, or sentiments. Thus Women of Faith, Oakies and Fossils are the names of some of the groups mentioned earlier and W.A.R. (We Are Responsible), W.A.V.E. (Women Against Violent Expression), Tree Huggers and 5:55 are some name of past and present Wesleyan affinity groups.

In an attempt to summarize, an affinity group might be defined as a collection of individuals who share generally humanistic and egalitarian values, work together because of some shared situation, experience, or desire. Certainly this definition is inadequate and expresses only one viewpoint. Anyone who has participated in an affinity group, or in any group utilizing consensus, is aware of some of the problems and difficulties which potentially exist. Despite this affinity groups can play an important role not only in creating and exciting political action, but in maintaining morale and sanity. Further, affinity groups can be beneficial in addressing the personal aspects of politics and in fostering individual learning and growth. Whatever the negative possibilities, the positive potentialities of affinity groups make them worth the extra effort. ●



Campbell's Soup Company

Address:
Gordon McGovern, President
Camden, N.J. 08101

Called by:
Farm Labor Organizing Committee
(FLOC)
714 1/2 S. Saint Clair
Toledo, OH 43609
(419) 243-3456

Date Begun:
January 1979

Reason for Boycott: The major demands of FLOC are to gain union recognition and to have three-way negotiations which include migrant workers in the yearly negotiations between Campbell's and growers. While Campbell's does not employ farmworkers directly, the contracts Campbell's makes with the individual growers determine how much money will be paid for labor. Wages presently average only \$1.96 per hour. If FLOC were to be included in the contract talks it would push for a minimum wage of \$3.50 per hour which would solve the problem of child labor in Campbell's Vlasic pickle fields. Among other demands, FLOC would ask that pesticides not be sprayed while workers are in the fields, and request a work guarantee of 28 hours every two weeks.

The Midwest migrant farmworkers are badly in need of these improvements. Their housing and living conditions are extremely poor which may help account for their infant mortality rate being 125% higher than the

national average. They also have a life expectancy of 49 years due to accidents and diseases.

Progress: July of 1982 marked the first time that FLOC conducted talks with the Campbell's Soup Company. Although Campbell's didn't make any concessions the talks represented the first movement in the dispute. In the beginning of May this year, the second talks between FLOC and Campbell's took place, arranged by the Rev. Jesse Jackson. This time Campbell's offered direct services to improve the plight of the farmworkers.

Products to Boycott:

Campbell's Soup
Swanson Frozen Dinners
Hanover Trail
Mrs. Paul's Frozen Fish
V-8 Juice
Recipe Pet Food
DomSea
Godiva Chocolate
Vlasic Pickles
Campbell's Fresh Farm
Bounty Products
Pietro's Gold Coast Pizza
Franco-American
Prego Spaghetti Sauce
Pepperidge Farm
Herder Farms Gold Nugget
Le Menu
Lexington Gardens Retail Centers

—National Boycott Newsletter



Honduras

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precipitate of the military aid that the U.S. gives, would prefer to spend some of that aid to better the conditions of its people. If social and economic conditions were better, Honduras might not need any U.S. aid.

"The truth is that social and economic development is a better weapon for us against the Sandinistas than arms," said General Walter Lopez. He believes that the weak social structure is what brings on so many revolutions.

To see the poverty in Honduras is to realize how wealthy Americans really are, no matter how poor we may be. Many Hondurans live in shacks, with mud and stick walls, a hole for a window and dirt for flooring. Their children have swollen bellies from drinking contaminated tap water. They know little of the health facilities in their area or of the contraceptive devices available to them. Many feel that previous governments have simply put all the money in their pockets while others contest that the programs simply have not been effectively carried out.

Statistics further demonstrate these social atrocities. The per capita annual

downward from \$600 to \$417, the lowest in Latin America with the exception of Haiti. Only 40 percent of its people are employed, some only in seasonal jobs in the banana or coffee fields. Sixty five percent are illiterate. Seventy percent live in abject poverty.

While many Hondurans feel that Suazo Cordova, the present president, has "sold out," many Americans feel that Ronald Reagan has not focused in on the people of the country but rather only the benefits the country can provide for the United States. Interestingly enough, the Hondurans blame Suazo Cordova. Because Honduras recently became a valuable asset to the United States, he, as president, had the opportunity to request more from the United States in exchange for the use of the country's land. He did not, and Hondurans feel that Cordova's actions are typical of the backseat Honduran attitude, which further perpetuates the adverse social conditions of the country.

The left of this country would like to believe that their stand is that of the Honduran people. However, there are many discrepancies, probably because of the lack of information we have about Honduras and its people. We do not learn about our Southern neighbors in high school and many people (including Wesleyan students) do not know what Honduras is. In this respect, we have the same fault as Reagan and his pals. We know so little about Honduras and its people, yet the American government is allocating large sums of money to this country in ways that perpetuate the conditions which made and make the aid necessary. This action replicates those of the past in which the United States has dominated the region but has done little to better the lives of the people. Our aid may allay some of the fears of a communist threat in Honduras, but it does nothing to organize the unfinished government projects, educate people about nutrition, create jobs, or erase illiteracy and other social problems that still pervade this third world nation. ●

Pornography

continued from page 4

I think the anti-porn movement has to begin seriously engaging in a delineation of the erotic from the pornographic. The first step of this effort is a careful and specific attempt to clarify what we mean by pornography. We must attempt to interrogate a broad range of our culture, and look at both what the specific work is attempting to do as well as what context it is consumed in.

We have to ask what is central to the production of rape culture. There may be a large gap between someone masturbating in a bathroom and Chi Psi showing stag films. There are the difficult questions posed by sadomasochistic images; we should be sensitive that a legitimate sexual choice may be expressed through these images. The challenge of the S&M community to mainstream feminism is precisely the kind of challenge that we

should seriously considering but that instead gets swallowed up by a conspiracy of silence, a determination to ignore heretical suggestions about sexuality and sexual images.

And finally, when we confront what we think is rape culture, rape culture now carefully defined rather than randomly selected, we must consider our response. Rape culture does produce ideology. It is this ideology that we wish to eradicate. And because I believe that rape ideology is one of the predominant discourses of the patriarchy, I agree with the anti-pornography movement that it is certain to be a pervasive cultural strain. But given this pervasive quality, I think it unlikely that we will ever manage to defeat rape ideology by closing off access to rape culture. This where the critique of the anti-porn movement is accurate: censoring pornography is off the mark. But

so is "appealing to people's better senses" and "educating them to the evil they do." The program for us should be to become cultural centers of production, creating a vast multiplicity of eroticism. (Much like the multiplication of gender identity in Foucault's work that Judith Butler spoke about at CHUM earlier this semester.) We should celebrate our inner sexual selves, whether these be based on a love of masturbation, of chaste affection, of wild lovemaking, of S&M. We should create our own sexual ideologies, the whole range of sexual ideologies, through our own culture. And yes, this culture will always be colored by oppression which surrounds us. But perhaps, if we offer the best alternative we can create, if we set out to transcend the limitations of oppression, then our erotic will one day cease to be at all pornographic. ●



Editor Ousted Over Ads for Military

The editor of Wayne State University's student newspaper has been dismissed for refusing to allow the paper to publish military recruiting advertisements.

Patricia Maceroni, 22 years old, was dismissed Thursday night as chief of South End paper by the university's nine-member student newspaper publications board for insubordination in refusing to follow their directive to permit military advertising.

Miss Maceroni banned military advertisements last month to protest Washington's policies toward Central America.

Her lawyer said after the dismissal that a Federal judge would be asked to restore her to the \$150-a-week job. She disputes the board's authority to set advertising policy.

Wayne State has about 29,000 students.

—Reuters
10/6/85

British Labor Party Assails U.S. Latin Policy

The opposition Labor Party passed a resolution today that condemned United States policy in Central America and said a future Labor government might supply Nicaragua with military aid.

In the foreign policy debate, the party unanimously passed a resolution condemning United States foreign policy in Central America.

The party resolved that "a future Labor government will put pressure on the United States to cease funding the contra forces and failing that, to supply military aid to Nicaragua for as long as, and as a counterbalance to, contra forces which are similarly supplied by the United States Government, the Central Intelligence Agency, private sources, etc."

The Reagan Administration has given millions of dollars in the last few years to rebels who are fighting to oust the Managua Government.

—UPI
10/4/85

Prince Charles, heir to the British throne, says he is interested in alternative medicine, often based on folk remedies, and in parapsychology, but does not necessarily believe in them. "I'm purely interested in being open-minded," he says. His wife, Princess Diana, says she is happily married, not bored, and not obsessed with clothes and pop music. The remarks came from the first television interview by Charles and Diana in their four years of marriage. Sir Alistair Burnet conducted the interview, which appeared on British television Sunday and is to be syndicated abroad. Buckingham Palace said the interview was granted in hopes of refuting "the remarkable gossip columns. Diana said she feels 'very wounded' by some of the stories, then added: "But you've got to push yourself out and remember that some people, hopefully, won't believe everything they read about you."

Charles, 36, and Diana, 24, leave Friday on a 19-day trip to Australia and the United States.

Hartford Courant
10/21/85

Profs Balk at CIA Funding

Several scholars said today that they planned to withdraw from a conference on Islamic fundamentalism at Harvard University after learning that the Central Intelligence Agency was one of its sponsors.

"For those of us who work in the Middle East, a connection with the C.I.A. could be damaging to our credibility and our access to resources there," said one of the scholars, who asked that his name not be used.

The C.I.A. sponsorship was disclosed Friday when A. Michael Spense, dean of Harvard's faculty of arts and sciences, issued a statement saying that Professor Nadav Safran had failed to report, as required by university rules, that the conference was being supported by a \$45,700 grant from the intelligence agency.

—UPI
10/13/85

News on 11

Bank to Pay \$269,750 Fine

The Treasury Department announced Friday that Riggs National Bank of Washington D.C., had agreed to pay a \$269,750 civil penalty for failing to report large currency transactions.

Officials said that Riggs, the largest bank in the District of Columbia, had committed 1,226 reporting violations from 1980 to 1985. The bank could have faced a fine of \$1.2 million, \$1,000 for each violation.

Riggs became the sixth bank this year to pay penalties for failing to comply with the Bank Secrecy Act, which requires banks to report all cash transactions above \$10,000.

In August, the department imposed a record \$2.25 million in penalties against Citicorp National Bank of San Francisco for failing to report almost \$4 billion in cash transactions.

—AP
10/13/85

Doonesbury Prompts Florida Bill

A Palm Beach ordinance ridiculed by the comic strip Doonesbury for requiring blue-collar workers to carry special identification would be illegal under a proposed state law adopted by a legislative committee Wednesday.

Under the 27-year-old regulation, workers such as waiters, store clerks, landscapers, newspaper carriers and cabbies must register with police, be photographed and fingerprinted. They also must carry identification cards and are subject to being stopped and searched by police at any time.

Cartoonist Garry Trudeau focused on the resort town, known for its Rolls-Royces, exclusive boutiques and rich and famous residents, with a series of strips about the law earlier this year.

"The entire nation has been made aware of the ugliness that we did not know existed in our own back yard," said Rep. James T. Hargrett Jr., one of the bill's backers.

—Hartford Courant
10/10/85

Protesters Riot at Japan Airport

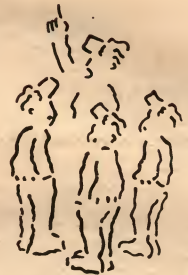
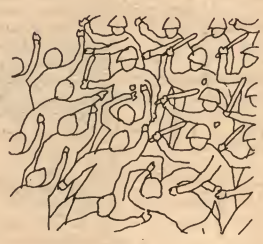
About 2,000 helmeted protesters hurled gasoline bombs and stones Sunday in a battle with club-swinging riot police in the worst outbreaks of violence near Narita Airport in 14 years.

At least 60 people were injured and 241 radicals were arrested, police said. The melee broke out Sunday afternoon when radicals carrying log-battering-rams tried to break through lines of police guarding Tokyo's New International Airport at Narita. Police fought back with tear gas and jets of water for about 90 minutes.

Opponents of the airport, 40 miles northeast of Tokyo, are a loose coalition of radical leftists, farmers, students and others who fear the conservative, pro-business ruling Liberal Democratic Party is trying to revive militarism in Japan.

—Hartford Courant
10/21/85

NO! not funny!
redo before printing



Editorial

In response to the October 11th blockade of administration buildings the Middletown police were called to campus and arrested 130 students with the help of Public Safety officers. This was not the unacceptable breach of the sanctity of the University that many had thought it would be -- in fact, the administration made an intelligent political decision. The building was not shut down. Protestors felt that the action was successful, but have now had their energies diverted by arrest proceedings, decreasing their ability to plan further activities. To this extent, the action -- though dramatic because of the arrests -- was not as successful as an all-day shutdown of the buildings would have been.

While this action was civilly disobedient, it was not really a direct action. Father Danniell Berrigan, who spoke here on Halloween, is an inspirational example of a political actor. As an original member of the Plowshares, he has participated in non-violent actions which are truly direct. The Plowshares have entered nuclear installations and damaged or destroyed the devices of destruction they oppose: first strike nuclear weapons. The source of the destruction is confronted directly.

We at Wesleyan and in Middletown are several steps removed from the sources of Apartheid. Father Berrigan noted that the lack of media coverage of the Plowshares' actions and trials (at which protestors have been sentenced to up to 14 years in prison) made them aware of the need for significance in their actions regardless of media coverage. Future divestment actions would benefit from a directness which could provide such meaning -- the treasurer's office, the Social Implications Subcommittee, the 30-college consortium, the South African Embassy, and the headquarters of corporations are potential sites of more direct actions. The blockade was an important and significant step, despite its shortcomings. Protests involving the actual powers supporting Apartheid would be a step forward equally as important as was adopting civil disobedience.



Photo by Shana Sureck